

11 February 1977

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MEMORANDUM FOR:

[Redacted]
Commander, USN
Executive Assistant to the
DCI-Designate, ADM Stansfield Turner

SUBJECT : Admiral Turner's Question: "Comments
about CIA and intelligence made by
President Carter prior to and subsequent
to the election"

President Carter has made very few public comments about the CIA or about intelligence. Other than his remark that he has confidence in Mr. Knoche and that the CIA is in good hands (see 2 February Washington Star article attached as Tab A), the most pertinent Carter statement was in Time of 3 January (extract attached as Tab A), when he said that he will not make "precipitous changes" in the Intelligence Community and that his knowledge of the Community outside the CIA was very limited. He has made no public statement (of which we are aware) since 20 January that would imply a change in his 3 January position. In response to questions about an "intelligence czar," he said he hadn't decided whether or not to change the present arrangement where the DCI already is a kind of "intelligence czar."

(NOTE: Prior to his swearing-in, the President-elect discussed intelligence, the Community, and CIA privately with George Bush and other CIA officials. I hold the classified file on these sensitive discussions and can make it available to Admiral Turner when he wishes - although none of the material is public and therefore could not be used during the Admiral's open confirmation hearings. In addition, Richard Lehman (Deputy to the DCI for National Intelligence) was in charge of intelligence support to the President-elect, met with him on several occasions, and is prepared to brief Admiral Turner on these meetings.)

A. Specific Statements: post-election (attached as Tab A)

-- 19 December 1976 New York Times article. President-elect states he is studying the question of separating the functions of the DCI and the head of CIA in the light

(EXECUTIVE REGISTRY FILE Succession/AGT)

Turner/CAB

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of his wish to have more than one source of intelligence coming to him. (NOTE: This concept was of considerable interest to Vice-President Mondale when he served on the Church Committee. We will send you material from the Church Committee report shortly.)

- 1 December 1976 Victor Zorza article and 17 November 1976 Economist (Foreign Report) article. The Zorza article is written on the basis of interviews with Schlesinger, [] and Ray Cline, the latter two of whom have published very specific ideas about CIA and Community organization. The Economist article sets forth Cline's views.

- 20 November - 1 December 1976: Several articles centered on the George Bush 19 November sensitive intelligence briefing of the President-elect. These articles contain no direct quotes from the President-elect.

B. Specific Statements: pre-election (attached as Tab B)

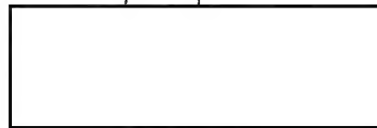
- 8 October 1976 transcript of Ford/Carter debate of 7 October. Governor Carter refers to "CIA revelations" as contributing to the "deep hurt" done to the American people, and includes CIA in a list of situations such as Vietnam, Cambodia, Chile, Pakistan, Angola, and Watergate. He also deplores "secrecy" in negotiations and the "secret treaties" which have supported dictatorships and ignored human rights.
- 25 September 1976 transcript of Ford/Carter debate of 24 September. President Ford referred to his reorganization of the Intelligence Community, but as Governor Carter began his reply by pointing out there has been a breakdown in the trust of the American people in their government, the television audio failed. (NOTE: There was one accusation that the CIA had been responsible for this failure.) When the debate renewed, Governor Carter said that there was too much government secrecy and not enough respect for the privacy of American citizens. He later said that the "U.S. system of government - in spite of Vietnam, Cambodia, CIA, Watergate - is still the best system." (NOTE: Governor Carter's references to CIA and revelations about it were not expanded on by the press. Since the election, we have seen no statements of a like nature.)

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- 14 August 1976 Washington Star article revealing Governor Carter's public endorsement of DCI Bush as having instituted the changes in CIA required by Congress. (NOTE: This statement by Governor Carter was welcomed by CIA because it helped take CIA [and intelligence generally] as an issue out of the political campaign.)
- 22 July 1976: Governor Carter requests briefings on intelligence and foreign affairs from the CIA rather than from State. The article speculates that Governor Carter thought State's briefings would be colored by policy considerations.



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SA/DCI

Distribution:

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Acting CIA Director Knoche May Become Permanent Chief

By Fred Barnes

Washington Star Staff Writer

President Carter may elevate the acting head of the Central Intelligence Agency, H. Enno Knoche, to be permanent head of the agency, a top White House official said today.

Hamilton Jordan, who managed Carter's election campaign and now is assistant to the President, said Carter has "a lot of confidence" in Knoche.

Knoche took over as acting CIA director on Jan. 20 with the resignation of George Bush, who was director under President Ford, and after Carter's choice for the post, Theodore C. Sorensen, withdrew his name from consideration in view of the strong opposition to the nomination that developed in the Senate.

JORDAN SAID "it is possible" that Carter might nominate Knoche to be permanent head. "It's certainly an option he has," the aide said.

"He thinks it (the CIA) is in good hands with Mr. Knoche," Jordan added at a breakfast meeting with reporters.

The President feels no pressure to quickly announce a new CIA nominee, Jordan said, especially because of his regard for Knoche's ability to run the agency well in the meantime.

"I don't think it will be months before a new nominee is chosen," Jordan said. "It could be three or four weeks. He's not going to make that decision until he feels he has found the best person to be director of central intelligence."

On Sunday, Carter told reporters that there are "six or seven" people "that I am looking at closely" for the CIA post. Among these, Jordan confirmed, is Thomas L. Hughes, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and a former

intelligence chief at the State Department.

Hughes' name has been suggested by several people, Jordan said. Hughes was also on the "original list" of candidates for appointment to any of a number of positions in the foreign policy field, the White House aide said.

ANOTHER NAME that has been mentioned in press speculation is that of former White House press secretary Bill Moyers. But Jordan

said Moyers has not gotten beyond the first stage, where Carter decides whom he wants to consider.

Neither Carter nor White House aides have discussed the CIA job with Moyers, so they don't know whether he has any desire for that position. "If he wanted to be considered, I think he would be a serious candidate," Jordan said.

Concerning another appointment, Jordan confirmed that Carter plans to nominate Washington attorney Paul Warke as head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and as chief U.S. negotiator in the strategic arms limitation talks with the Soviet Union.

Though Warke's Soviet views on defense matters have generated some opposition in the Senate, Jordan said he does not think there will be a major fight over the nomination. "The President is supporting him fully," Jordan said. "We expect him to be confirmed."

As for the Sorensen nomination (which was withdrawn, Jordan insisted that Carter was ready to fight for the nomination if Sorensen had chosen to stay in the race. "If Ted had not withdrawn, we would have fought," the aide said.

Carter talked to a number of members of the Senate Intelligence Committee prior to Sorensen's withdrawal, but he will not poll the committee before deciding up another nomination, Jordan said. "It would be a sign of weakness for a president to take a straw vote on each appointment," Jordan said.

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Carter: I Look Forward to the Job

EXCERPT:

Q. What changes do you plan for the CIA and the rest of the intelligence community?

A. I wouldn't make any precipitous changes in the intelligence community's functions until I know more about them. My knowledge of the intelligence community outside the CIA is very limited so far.

Q. Are you leaning toward a kind of intelligence czar?

A. Well, President Ford's executive order set up the Director of Central Intelligence as a kind of czar. There are several intelligence agencies, as you know, and I haven't decided whether to change the present arrangement.

CARTER CONSIDERING SPLITTING C.I.A. POST BETWEEN 2 PERSONS

ONE WOULD BE HEAD OF AGENCY

Second Would Be Main Intelligence Source for White House—Andrus Chosen as Interior Secretary

By JAMES T. WOOTEN

Special to The New York Times

PLAINS, Ga., Dec. 12—President-elect Jimmy Carter said today he was trying to determine whether the person he chooses to head the Central Intelligence Agency should also serve as the primary source of intelligence at the White House.

"It's a matter under study," he said at a news conference here at which he announced the selection of a longtime friend, Gov. Cecil D. Andrus of Idaho, as his Secretary of the Interior, and expressed some frustration with his still unsuccessful search for women willing to serve in his Cabinet.

Under present arrangements, George Bush, who directs the C.I.A., is simultaneously the Director of Central Intelligence, a separate White House advisory position in which he is the major conduit of intelligence information for President Ford.

Mr. Carter, whose views on the subject were shaped to some degree by Vice President-elect Walter F. Mondale, and Mr. Schlesinger, a former C.I.A. director, suggested today that he is, at least, giving some thought to altering the present structure.

Carter's Voice in Senate Report

"I've not decided who will be the D.C.I. [Director of Central Intelligence]," he said.

"and I've not decided whether or not the person should stay on as head of the C.I.A."

Mr. Carter also said, "If you have just a channel of intelligence coming to the president, that probably prevents the president from getting a broad picture of what alternatives are available and check on the accuracy of reports made."

"I would like to be the one to go between two major, perhaps conflicting, sources of information—not let a subordinate person, even the very careful head of the intelligence community, make that choice for me."

One of Mr. Carter's appointments heretofore, a speechwriter and special counsel to President Kennedy, who is said to be under consideration for the job of director of the C.I.A.

Schlesinger Sees Carter

Any separation of the roles would be opposed by many C.I.A. officials who have previously labeled such an alteration as an inefficient, inadequate and incompetent means of gathering intelligence for the White House.

But critics of the agency view contend that such opposition issues only from the organization's desire to maintain its pre-eminent position in the intelligence community and to protect its direct access to and influence on the President.

Suggestions of that sentiment were included in the report of the Senate's Select Committee on Intelligence earlier this year. The Vice President-elect served on that panel and both he and Mr. Schlesinger, in private and public statements, have criticized the present structure at the White House.

It was said that Mr. Schlesinger was ousted from his job as Secretary of Defense by President Ford partly because of his views on the subject.

Mr. Schlesinger, whom Mr. Carter is said to favor as the secretary of a new Cabinet-level department on energy, arrived here in Plains today but declined to comment on whether he has been offered or would accept a job in the new administration—or on anything at all, for that matter.

"I'm here to enjoy the climate," he said, before being driven away from the grass strip at the local airport to keep his appointment with the President-elect.

It was his second visit to this tiny village. His first, last September, made what Mr. Carter called "a profound impression on me," and in his news conference today the President-elect said that Mr. Schlesinger "is one of those that I am considering to ask to serve in my administration."

In introducing Governor Andrus, Mr. Carter said he had not considered anyone else for the Interior post and praised the Governor as a superb manager who had reorganized Idaho's state government.

The Governor, who brought only one business suit with him from Boise because he did not expect that his selection would be announced so quickly after his talks with Mr. Carter yesterday, said he was "excited" to be faced with the "new challenge" and promised a diligent stewardship of the country's land and resources.

It was the fourth Cabinet appointment Mr. Carter has made since his election nearly seven weeks ago, and with less than a week remaining before his self-imposed deadline for rounding out his Cabinet, the President-elect conceded today that he had been having difficulty finding

At one point today he said he could not "specifically" answer the question of whether or not there would be a woman in his Cabinet. On Thursday, he had said that there would be. Today, he said, "That would be a very good guess."

In discussing his search, he said there was no doubt that women had been excluded from consideration for Cabinet posts and other significant positions in government in the past.

"And another factor that's, I think, apparent is that when a woman has become a pre-eminent leader in the business or professional world, she can demand and receive superb salaries," he said. "In addition to that, quite often a woman who has become prominent becomes a member of the boards of directors of five, six, seven, eight major corporations."

"Each one of those corporations pays stipends of 10 to 20 thousand dollars each," he said. "So, there's a tremendous salary level for women who are well known and who serve in major positions; and this has made it difficult for some of them to decide to come into Government."

"Women have a much more difficult time telling the other members of their family that they're going to move to Washington than do men; and I've had

several women who have expressed some concern that they would like to serve in the Government, and they just couldn't split their family and their husband was not willing to move."

"So, I've done the best I could and still am doing the best I can to get well-qualified women and men, black and white and others, to serve in the Cabinet; and I'm going to make a special additional effort at the Under Secretary, Deputy and Assistant Secretary level to take into the administration those who are now in a process of being trained for a higher position."

In response to other questions in his news conference, the President-elect said that Clarence M. Kelley, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, was still being considered for the same job in the new administration but that the

post would eventually be filled, with Mr. Carter's approval, by the new Attorney General.

He said he had no intention of deviating from his campaign promise to issue a general pardon for Vietnam war draft resisters in his first week in the White House. More than 100 Congressmen have signed a letter urging that he reconsider and withhold the pardon.

Foreign Report

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1464 17 November 1973

The intelligence of Jimmy Carter

One of the jobs that has been proposed for Mr James Schlesinger under the Carter administration is that of Director of Central Intelligence - possibly under a different title and probably in the context of a far-reaching reorganisation of the American intelligence community. The appointment to any public office of the man who resigned as Secretary of Defence after coming into conflict with Mr Kissinger (he is also seen by some Americans as a potential successor to Kissinger) would be fought tooth-and-nail by left-wing Democrats. But Mr Carter is said to like and respect him.

The way Mr Carter will handle the American intelligence community is as much of a mystery as his foreign policy, and much of the guessing revolves around the supposed influence of rival sets of advisers. Much has been made in conservative circles, for example, of the antecedents of Dr Peter Bourne, the British-born consultant on drug abuse who has been prominent in Carter's Washington office, and was once involved with the campaign of Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

But for those interested in policies rather than personalities, a timely prospectus for the refurbishing of America's intelligence community has been prepared by Ray Cline, a veteran intelligence officer who is currently research director of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University. Mr Cline joined the OSS (the CIA's predecessor) in 1943. In 1951, he was posted as an attaché to the American embassy in London, and worked with the Joint Intelligence Committee. He was later station chief in Taipei and Bonn.

In 1969 he was made director of the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, but he resigned in anger in 1973, accusing Mr Kissinger of excessive

secrecy and of withholding information from top officers on his talks with the Arabs, the Chinese and the Russians. (Mr Kissinger's regular meetings with the Soviet ambassador, Mr Dobrynin, with no other American present and no subsequent written summaries, were a particularly sore point.)

Now Mr Cline has written a book entitled 'Secrets, Spies and Scholars', which will be published at the end of this month. It contains his blueprint for the remodelling of American intelligence - starting with the closing down of the CIA as it now exists. In place of the CIA, Cline wants to set up two separate agencies: an innocuously-named Central Institute of Foreign Affairs Research (Cifar) to consolidate the work of the main analytical staffs currently employed by the CIA and the State and Defence Departments; and a Clandestine Services Staff (CSS) to handle covert operations, which would be controlled by a small group set up within the White House. Both organisations would come under the Director of Central Intelligence, a position that would now confer cabinet rank, so that the intelligence chief would enjoy equal status with the Secretaries of State and Defence, and would report directly to the President.

The heart of the proposal, as Cline put it to FOREIGN REPORT, is 'to put our intelligence on a sound basis that most of the work is neither illegal nor immoral'. Cifar, divorced from clandestine operations, could be more open to academics and journalists.

DALLAS, TEXAS
TIMES HERALD

E - 214,519

S - 257,936

DEC 1 1976

Bush versus Carter?

NO CLEAR, accepted account has come of the six-hour session on Nov. 19 between Jimmy Carter and George Bush in Plains, Ga., but whatever happened is not good for the country.

Bush, at the insistence of President Ford, had gone to Georgia to brief President-elect Carter on the nation's sensitive intelligence systems.

Columnists Evans and Novak, quoting an inside-Carter source, described the meeting as a "disaster" that ended with Carter coldly assuring Bush that a new Central Intelligence Agency Director would be named on Jan. 21 — one day after the inauguration.

BUT EQUALLY respected U.S. News and World Report reported that stories of a "stormy session" between the two had been discounted — that there was a "misunderstanding" that had been resolved after Bush refused to brief certain Carter aides on top secret matters "because they had not yet received security clearance."

Less than a week later Bush gave seemingly unequivocal notice to Carter and President Ford that he would resign as CIA Director on Carter's Jan. 20th inauguration day.

It appeared from the timing and terseness of the three-sentence communication from Bush that it was more than the normal, "pleasure of the President" courtesy resignation.

If, indeed, "Jimmy just wasn't impressed with Bush" as the inside Carter source was quoted by columnists Evans and Novak, that is an unfortunate turn. And it collides with the impression Carter publicly gave that Bush had

done his job efficiently and well.

The United States has received solid service from the unusually qualified 52-year-old Texan. Many had hoped that the new President would find a highly responsible niche for Bush in a move to start binding an opinion-



FELIX
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divided country with genuine bipartisan adhesive.

And they figured Bush would be a good place to start because of an impeccable service background.

Bush has said nothing of his visit with Carter. His words of resignation gave no clues. But of one thing Mr. Carter and his high riding aides can be certain — they will hear more of George Bush.

Not too many George Bushes are on the scene these days — the citizen-type with the clean hands, the keen intelligence and the fervor of undiluted, old-style love of country.

HE IS THE young man who twice almost wound up on the Republican ticket — with Richard Nixon and with Gerald Ford. He was considered "too young and inexperienced" when Nixon fatally opted for Spiro T. Agnew.

He was whiskered out of the place

next to Ford when Nelson Rockefeller was chosen for political reasons. He lost that one by inches.

AND THEN when recalled from China and given the interim appointment as director of the troubled and tarred CIA, he gave total assurance in U.S. Senate confirmation hearings that his mind would be solely on the restructuring of CIA — not politics.

That he did — and he did it well. He has quietly gone about the business of rebuilding confidence in the U.S. intelligence system. He promised, at his swearing-in ceremony that "no politics, no policy bias" would color the collective judgment of CIA.

So, when he went to Georgia to fill in for Carter on the critical background of foreign and domestic intelligence, it was felt that here was a man Carter would have on his team if he wanted to assure the country that everything isn't based upon partisan politics.

Only 52, strong family man, handsome, articulate and proven as Congressman, Ambassador to the United Nations, U.S. special liaison to the Republic of China and interim emergency director of CIA, Bush looked like choice bipartisan material for Carter.

But it didn't happen.

And it makes one wonder if Carter and old-line Democrats are not worried about the George Bush background — but his future.

It is conceivable, even highly possible, that the vigorous Republican loyalist could be his party's leader come 1980.

Maybe even squared off, head to head, against Jimmy Carter.

Bush and Simon: Audiences With Carter

EXCERPT

CARTER, Jimmy

The departure of George Bush from the CIA sooner than anybody expected and the more startling possibility that Treasury Secretary William Simon may moonlight for the new administration stem from the nature of their encounters with President-elect Carter during the transition.

Bush's six-hour intelligence briefing of Carter at Plains on Nov. 19, called a "disaster" by one Carter insider, was followed a week later by Bush's announcement he would quit as director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). But a warm, hour-long session between Carter and Simon at the Treasury Nov. 22 may produce the seemingly impossible: the conservative Republican serving as a part-time consultant to the Democratic President.

Since holdover CIA directors were retained in the 1960 and 1968 transitions, there had been speculation that Bush would stay for six months—perhaps longer if he hit it off with Carter. That was ruled out in Plains Nov. 19.

"Jimmy just wasn't impressed with Bush," a key Carterite told us. At one point, when Bush volunteered that the President-elect would probably prefer his own man at CIA, an unsmiling Carter replied coolly that was indeed the case and a new director would be ready Jan. 21.

Simon has been described in such lurid Democratic tones as a reactionary bogeyman that transition at the Treasury was expected to be barely civil. "I don't know anybody in the Ford administration that Jimmy detests as much as he does Simon," one insider told us before their meeting.

There was no sign of that Nov. 22, however. Carter asked Simon whether he would be available for special assignments next year, and Simon indicated he would. If that exchange involves more than simple courtesy, it could mean Simon's help on oil price questions—making use of his excellent contacts in the Arab world.

A footnote: Carter talent scouts are clearly looking for a businessman, not an economist, to succeed Simon at the

Treasury. Two intriguing new names under serious consideration: Alden S. S. Shapiro of Dupont Company.

Carter briefed by chief of CIA

From our Own Correspondent: Washington, November 19

Jimmy Carter today began a series of meetings with Administration officials that will culminate in a session with President Ford on Monday. The President-Elect was briefed by the Head of the CIA, Mr. George Bush, and tomorrow he will be visited by Dr. Kissinger.

Although Mr. Carter has not left Georgia since the election more than two weeks ago, he is already the focus of all the attention. The awesomeness of his rapid translation from an almost unknown local politician to the 39th President will be reinforced once again when Dr. Kissinger makes his trip to the tiny community of Plains.

Earlier this week the Secretary of State, who has travelled more than a million miles in the past eight years, joked quite plausibly that he could not find Plains on the map.

Mr. Bush briefed Mr. Carter twice during the campaign, but the President-Elect has not formally met other Administration officials before. He will make his first post-election trip to Washington on Sunday for meetings with the present Cabinet and the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, Mr. Arthur Burns.

The session with President Ford, their first encounter since

the television debates, has no formal agenda, according to John Marsh, who is in charge of arrangements for the outgoing Administration.

Although Mr. Carter himself is taking a leisurely pace so as not to appear over-presumptuous, his transition staff has now moved into its Washington offices. Plans are going ahead for Mr. Carter to produce his own budget proposals very soon after his inauguration, and certainly much earlier than either President Kennedy or President Nixon did.

In the absurdly long interregnum, the outgoing President still has the formal responsibility of producing next year's budget in January, even though he steps down two days later. Mr. Carter's transition chief, Jack Watson, has said that the new President hopes to have his own alternative proposals ready by February 15.

These cannot be as detailed as Mr. Ford's because he has not got the same bureaucratic apparatus behind him, but Mr. Carter wants to submit a "budget-in-brief" to supersede the outgoing Republican one.

As for his Cabinet appointments, which are being eagerly awaited, Mr. Carter's former campaign director, Mr. Hamilton Jordan, has promised that the President-Elect will start interviewing candidates next week or early the following week.

But announcements are unlikely before mid-December. Mr. Jordan said that the President-Elect wanted to reassure the business community by appointing a Secretary of the Treasury who would be a "bridge" to the corporate and financial worlds.

CIA's Bush Briefs Carter, Says He's Learning Fast

PLAINS, Ga. (AP) — CIA Director George Bush briefed President-elect Jimmy Carter for nearly six hours yesterday on the highly secret methods of the craft of intelligence.

Bush found Carter's questions "right on target" and said the president-elect had obviously done his homework on America's operations abroad.

As Bush returned to the grass strip that serves Plains as an airport, he told reporters he had visited President Ford before flying to Georgia and was told to give Carter full access to any information he might desire.

It was Bush's third intelligence briefing for Carter and by far the most complete.

The CIA director said he now hopes to brief the president-elect on a routine basis using other agency personnel and said Carter can have the daily

intelligence briefing material given Ford if he wants it.

"He will receive what he desires," Bush said. "The President said give him full access to information and that's what he'll receive."

He said Carter was well prepared for the briefing and had "clearly done a lot of reading since I saw him last in the areas of strategic concern."

BUSH CONTINUED to refuse to discuss his own future and declined to say whether or not the possibility of his remaining as CIA director had been raised at the meeting.

Vice President-elect Walter F. Mondale also attended the briefing.

Carter and Mondale are to be briefed here today by Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger.

Carter plans to meet in Washington Monday with President Ford, Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur Burns, James T. Lynn, director of the Office of Management and Budget, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, Treasury Secretary William Simon and David Mathews, secretary of health, education and welfare.

Carter is scheduled to meet Tuesday with members of House and Senate foreign affairs committees and with committee chairmen of both bodies. He also has planned a meeting with Republican leaders of the Senate and House.

Jody Powell, Carter's press secretary, said the sessions are intended to provide evidence that Carter is serious in his efforts to develop a bipartisan approach to foreign policy and to bring Congress back into the foreign policy decision-making process.

POWELL ALSO announced that Carter has named 11 members of the business, labor, academic and professional communities to an advisory council which is to be at the core of his efforts to seek out "the best available talent" to fill Cabinet positions and other high-level government jobs.

Powell said that Charles Kirbo, an Atlanta attorney who is a longtime Carter adviser, will be responsible for making sure that appointees disclose

their financial holdings and divest themselves of any assets which might pose a conflict of interest with official duties.

No Cabinet appointments are to be made before the Dec. 1, but Powell said he could not rule out the possibility Carter might name his choice to head the Office of Management and Budget or some other high federal agency before then.

Named to the council were the Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame University and former chairman of the Civil Rights Commission; Lane Kirkland, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO; Vernon Jordan, executive director of the Urban League; Carol Foreman, executive director of the Consumer Federation of America; Marion Wright Edelman, a black woman who is executive director of the Children's Defense Fund.

Also, Robert Strauss, chairman of the Democratic National Committee; Hank La Coya, chairman of the Hispanic division of the Carter-Mondale campaign; Owen Cooper, a Jackson, Miss., manufacturer who is the former moderator of the Southern Baptist Convention; Irving Shapiro, chairman of the board of the Business Roundtable and chairman of E. I. du Pont de Nemours and Co.; and Patricia Roberts Harris, a prominent Washington attorney and chairman of the 1972 Democratic National Convention.

NOV 20 1975

Carter and Mondale Given Full CIA Briefing by Bush

By ANDREW J. GLASS

Constitution Washington Bureau

PLAINS—The deepest secrets of the nation's far-ranging spy apparatus were revealed to President-elect Jimmy Carter for the first time Friday by CIA Director George Bush.

In a five-hour briefing at Carter's Plains home, Bush delved into what he described as "the very sensitive matter" of how intelligence is actually collected.

Bush described his meeting with the President-elect as "a very good, wide-ranging session," indicating that President Gerald Ford had ordered him to give Carter "full access" to all aspects of intelligence data.

The CIA director said Carter had learned much about the intelligence field since Bush first met him.

On two previous occasions, during the campaign period, Bush had briefed Carter on various aspects of CIA operations. But those sessions, by mutual agreement, were limited to the fruits of the intelligence effort and skirted all mention of how the data came in.

Bush and his small cadre of experts described to Carter the workings of military surveillance satellites and the network of secret agents which the CIA has implanted abroad.

It is this aspect of the CIA's dealings which recently came under heavy fire in Congress.

One of the sharpest congressional critics, Sen. Walter Mondale, the vice-president-elect, sat in on the sessions. Mondale planned to remain here overnight at a Carter guest house in order to attend a planned briefing Saturday with retiring Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

In meeting briefly with reporters at the Plains airstrip, where the CIA chief landed in a military helicopter, Bush left the impression that he would like to stay on in his post. But that decision, he recognized, is strictly up to Carter.

After the meeting with Carter, Bush refused to discuss whether he had been asked to stay on or whether former Defense Secretary James Schlesinger was in line to be named intelligence overlord at the White House—as has been speculated.

Meanwhile, Carter Press Secretary Jody Powell reported that a post-election letter to Carter from former President Richard Nixon had "a warm and personal tone."

Powell said that Nixon had advised the future president to get as much rest as possible during the transition period because it would be difficult to do so after he had taken on the burdens of his office.

Powell also released a list of consultants who will identify and recommend the key members of the new administration.

The list was described by Powell as representative of the type of people who will be consulted by Carter as he forges his new administration.

Although Powell described the group as "relatively balanced," some observers thought it was tilted toward the liberal side. Among the 11

advisers, there were three blacks and four women.

The 11 are the Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame; Lucy Benson, former president of the League of Women Voters; Vernon Jordan, executive director of the Urban League; Carol Foreman, executive director of the Consumer Federations of America; Marian Wright Edelman, executive director of the Children's Defense Fund and a former Mississippi civil rights advocate.

Also, Robert Strauss, chairman of the Democratic National Committee; Frank LaCayo, political director of the United Auto Workers and an Hispanic leader; Lane Kirkland, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO; Owen Cooper, a Yazoo City, Miss., businessman and a former president of the Southern Baptist Convention; Irving Shapiro, chairman of E. L. DuPont de Nemours & Co.; and Patricia Harris, dean of Howard Law School in Washington, D.C.

In addition to this blue ribbon panel, large numbers of elected officials will be asked to give their views.

All the advice will flow into the Carter transition office—and, in some cases, to Carter directly. But the advisers will not meet as committees to hammer out compromised recommendations in advance.

Three key participants in the cabinet-building process are Mondale, who will serve as a senior adviser; Hamilton Jordan, Carter's campaign manager who is in overall charge of the personnel effort; and Charles Kirbo, an Atlanta lawyer and longtime Carter confidant.

Kirbo will screen the finalists' financial holdings and look for potential conflicts of interest.

Fresh advice will be flowing in when Carter goes to Washington Monday and Tuesday. Time has been set aside for Carter to confer at length with key members of the Ford administration and with Republican congressional leaders.

Each of the Ford appointees is due to see Carter at his restored townhouse across Pennsylvania Avenue from the White House, where the President-elect will temporarily set up shop.

Those who will see Carter include budget director James Lynn; Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld; NEW Secretary David Matthews; Treasury Secretary William Simon; and Arthur Burns, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.

The keystone of the Carter visit is a planned 40-minute exchange Monday between Ford and Carter at the White House.

Betty Ford will give Nancy Carter her first extensive tour of the executive mansion.

Carter's decision to confer separately with the GOP hierarchy on Capitol Hill indicates an effort to defuse partisan assaults, particularly on the foreign policy front, against his administration.

Carter has pledged to set the new power structure in Washington with a generous sprinkling of Republicans and political independents.

Carter Confers With C.I.A. Chief; Bush Calls Him 'Well Prepared'

By B. DRUMMOND AYRES Jr.

Special to The New York Times

PLAINS, Ga., Nov. 19.—George Bush, the Director of Central Intelligence, came to Plains today to share his organization's portfolio of secrets and spy techniques with President-elect Jimmy Carter.

The two men conferred from 1 to 7 P.M., twice as long as expected, and as he left, Mr. Bush told reporters:

"He showed a very keen interest. He was obviously well prepared. His questions were right on target."

Meanwhile, Mr. Carter released the names of 11 persons who were said by aides to be "representative" of the type of interested citizens who would be advising the President-elect as he selected new officials for his administration.

List Is Called 'Balanced'

"It's quite 'balanced,'" Jody Powell, Mr. Carter's press spokesman, said when asked to assess the make-up of the list. Included on the list were the Rev. Theodore M. Hesburg, President of the University of Notre Dame; Lane Kirkland, the secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations; Vernon Jordan, the executive director of the Urban League; Irving Shapiro, the chairman of the board of the Du Pont Company, and Robert Strauss, the chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

The others were Lucy W. Benson, former president of the National League of Women Voters; Carol Foreman, the executive director of Consumer Federation of America; Marian Wright Edelman, the executive director of the Children's Defense Fund; Hank Lacayo, the chairman of the Carter campaign's Hispanic advisory committee; Owen Cooper, a Mississippi chemical executive who is

a former president of the Southern Baptist Convention, and Patricia Harris, a prominent Democrat who once was dean of the Howard University Law School.

List to be Narrowed Soon

Mr. Powell said that in another week or so the lists of persons under consideration for each Cabinet position would be narrowed and about half a dozen finalists would be singled out for interviewing.

Each finalist will be asked to submit to a security check, Mr. Powell added, and each will be asked to disclose financial holdings.

Charles Kirby, an Atlanta lawyer who is one of Mr. Carter's closest confidants, will keep tabs on the financial statements. He played a similar role when Mr. Carter was choosing a running mate.

The Vice President-elect, Senator Walter F. Mondale, came to Plains today for the noon briefing. He planned to remain overnight to be with Mr. Carter tomorrow when Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger arrives to brief the President-elect on foreign affairs.

On Sunday, Mr. Carter will fly to Washington for two days of meetings with various Congressional leaders and officials of the Ford Administration, among them the President.

FORD-CARTER DEBATES

EXCERPTS:

1.

Q: Governor Carter, much of what the United States does abroad is done in the name of the national interest. What is your concept of the national interest. What should the role of the United States in the world be? And in that connection, considering your limited experience in foreign affairs, and the fact that you take some pride in being a Washington outsider, don't you think it would be appropriate for you to tell the American voters before the election the people that you would like to have in key positions, such as Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense, national security affairs adviser at the White House?

CARTER: Well, I'm not going to name my Cabinet before I get elected. I've got a little ways to go before I start doing that.

But I have an adequate background, I believe. I am a graduate of the United States Naval Academy, the first military graduate since Eisenhower. I have served as the Governor of Georgia and have traveled extensively in foreign countries and South America, Central America, Europe, the Middle East and in Japan.

I've traveled the last 21 months among the people of this country. I've talked to them and I've listened. And I've seen at first hand, in a very vivid way, the deep hurt that's come to this country in the aftermath of Vietnam and Cambodia, Chile and Pakistan, and Angola and Watergate, the C.I.A. revelations.

What we were formerly so proud of of the strength of our country, its moral integrity, the representation in foreign affairs of what our people or what our Constitution stands for — has been gone. And in the secrecy that has surrounded our foreign policy in the last few years, the American and the Congress have been excluded.

I believe I know what this country ought to be.

No Limit on What We Can Be

I've been one who's loved my nation as many Americans do, and I believe that there's no limit placed on what we can be in the future, if we can harness the tremendous resources, militarily, economically, and the stature of our people, the meaning of the Constitution, in the future.

Every time we've made a serious mistake in foreign affairs, it's been because the American people have been excluded from the process.

If we can just tap the intelligence and ability, the sound common sense and the good judgment of the American people, we can once again have a foreign policy that will make us proud instead of ashamed.

And I'm not going to exclude the American people from that process in the future, as Mr. Ford and Kissinger have done.

This is what it takes to have a sound foreign policy—strong at home, strong defense, permanent commitments—not betray the principles of our country and involve the American people and the Congress in the shaping of our foreign policy.

Every time Mr. Ford speaks from a position of secrecy in negotiations and in secret treaties that have been pursued and achieved in supporting dictatorships, in ignoring human rights, we are weak and the rest of the world knows it.

So these are the ways that restore the strength of our country. They don't require long experience in foreign policy. Nobody has that a President who has served a lot, or a Secretary of State.

Commitment to Principles

But my background, my experience, my knowledge of the people of this country, my commitment to our principles that don't change—those best bases to correct the horrible mistakes of this Administration—store our own country to a position of leadership in the world.

continued

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FORD-CARTER DEBATES

EXCERPTS:

2.

CARTER: The purpose of this debate and the outcome of the election will determine three basic things: Leadership, upholding the principles of our country and proper priorities and commitments for the future.

This election will also determine what kind of world we leave our children. Will it be a nightmare world threatened with the proliferation of atomic bombs, not just in five major countries but dozens of smaller countries that have been permitted to develop atomic weapons because of a failure of our top leadership to stop proliferation?

Will we have a world of hunger and hatred and will we be living in an arms camp, stripped of our friendship and allies, hiding behind a tight defense that's been drawn around us because we are fearful of the outside world?

Will we have a government of secrecy that excludes the American people from participation in making basic decisions and therefore covers up mistakes and makes it possible for our government—our government—to depart from the principles of our Constitution and Bill of Rights?

An Appeal for Unity

Or will we have a world of peace with the threat of atomic weapons eliminated, with full trade, with our people at work, inflation controlled, openness in government, our people proud once again, Congress, citizens, President, Secretary of State working in harmony and unity toward a common future? Or will our people have enough to eat and a world where we care about those who don't? Can we become breadbasket of the world in-

stead of the arms merchant of the world?

I believe we can and we ought to.

And we've been hurt in recent years in this country in the aftermath of Vietnam, Cambodia, Chile, Pakistan, Angola, Watergate, CIA. We've been hurt. Our people feel that we've lost something precious. That's not necessary.

I want to see our nation return to a posture and an image and a standard to make us proud once again. I remember the world of NATO and the world of Point Four and the world of the Marshall Plan and the world of the Peace Corps. Why can't we have that once again? We ought to be a beacon for nations who search for peace and who search for freedom, who search for individual liberty, who search for basic human rights. We've haven't been lately. We can be once again.

We'll never have that world leadership until we are strong at home, and

we can have that strength if we return to the basic principles.

It ought not to be a strength of bombast and threats. It ought to be a quiet strength based on the integrity of our people, the vision of the Constitution and in a strong will and purpose that God's given us in the greatest nation on earth—the United States.

FORD-CARTER DEBATES

EXCERPTS:

1.

Talks of Reorganization

FORD: You are familiar, of course, with the fact that I am the first President in 30 years who has reorganized the intelligence agencies in the Federal Government: the C.I.A., the Defense Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency and the others.

We've done that by executive order. And I think we've tightened it up; we've straightened out their problems that developed over the last few years.

It doesn't seem to me that it's needed or necessary to have legislation in this particular regard. I have recommended to the Congress, however—I'm sure you're familiar with this—legislation that would make it very proper, and in the right way, that the Attorney General could go in and get the right for wiretapping under security cases.

Cites Squabbling With Administration

This was an effort that was made by the Attorney General and myself, working with the Congress. But even in this area, where I think new legislation would be justified, the Congress has not responded. So I feel in that case, as well as in the reorganization of the intelligence agencies, as I've done, we have to do it by executive order.

And I'm glad that we have a good director in George Bush. We have good executive orders, and the C.I.A. and the D.I.A. and NASA—ah, N.S.A.—are now doing a good job under proper supervision.

MODERATOR: Governor Carter.

CARTER: Well one of the very serious things that happened in our government in recent years, and has continued up until now, is a breakdown in the trust among our people in the

[At this point, transcription of the debate ended because of an audio failure at 10:51 P.M. The debate resumed after audio was restored at 11:13 o'clock and Mr. Newman had made reintroductions.]

CARTER: There has been too much Government secrecy and not enough respect for the personal privacy of American citizens.

2.

CARTER: Well, tonight we've had a chance to talk a lot about the past. But I think it's time to talk about the future.

Our nation in the last eight years has been divided as never before. It's a time for unity. It's a time to draw ourselves together. To have a President and a Congress that can work together, with mutual respect, for a change, cooperating for a change, in the open for a change. So the people can understand their own government.

Called Time for Cooperation

It's time for government, industry, labor, manufacturing, agriculture, education, other entities in our society to cooperate. And it's a time for government to understand and to cooperate with our people.

For a long time our American citizens have been excluded, sometimes misled, sometimes have been lied to. This is not compatible with the purpose of our nation.

I believe in our country. It needs to be competent. The government needs to be well-managed, efficient, economical. We need to have a government that's sensitive to our people's needs—to those who are poor, who don't have

adequate health care, who have been cheated too long with our tax programs, who've been out of jobs, whose families have been torn apart.

We need to restore the faith and the trust of the American people in their own government.

In addition to that, we've suffered because we haven't had leadership in this Administration. We've got a government of stalemate. We've lost the vision of what our country can and ought to be.

This is not the America that we've known in the past. It's not the America that we have to have in the future.

I don't claim to know all the answers. But I've got confidence in my country. Our economic strength is still there. Our system of government—in spite of Vietnam, Cambodia, C.I.A. Watergate—is still the best system of government on earth.

And the greatest resource of all are the 215 million Americans who still have within us the strength, the character, the intelligence, the experience, the patriotism, the idealism, the compassion, the sense of brotherhood, on which we can rely in the future to restore the greatness to our country.

We ought not to be excluded from our government anymore. We need a President that can go in who derives his strength from the people. I owe the special interests nothing. I owe everything to you, the people of this country.

And I believe that we can bind our wounds. I believe that we can work together. And I believe that we can tap the tremendous untapped reservoir of innate strength in this country. That we can once again have a government as good as our people and let the world know that we still know and hope for—that we still live in the greatest and the strongest and the best country on earth.

Carter Lauds Bush Effort To Institute CIA Reforms

PLAINS, Ga. (UPI) — Jimmy Carter said yesterday that CIA Director George Bush has done a better job than FBI Director Clarence Kelley in instituting reforms and that the Carter staff made "a serious mistake" in revealing an embarrassing memo about Bush.

The Democratic presidential nominee made the comments at a half-hour news conference he and California Gov. Edmund G. Brown

Jr. held at the old depot serving as Carter's local campaign headquarters.

Brown met with Carter Thursday to discuss campaign plans in California and spent the night at his house.

CARTER SAID he thought "a lot" of Bush and felt he has done a good job in instituting changes mandated by congressional committees. On the other hand, he said, he felt Kelley has not gained control of the FBI.

Brown said he promised Carter his full support. He praised Carter for initiating in the Democratic party and the nation "a process of reconciliation that was a long time coming."

The California governor challenged Carter in the late spring primaries and went into the Democratic convention last month as an active candidate.

Carter was questioned about a staff memo prepared in support of statements he made earlier this week in speech to the American Bar Association. On that occasion he charged that the Nixon and Ford administrations filled important federal jobs with defeated GOP candidates and other party faithful.

One of those named as a defeated candidate placed in the "dumping grounds" of the federal payroll was Bush, who briefed Carter Thursday on foreign affairs. A Carter aide handed out the memo while the briefing was in process.

"THAT WAS A serious mistake on some staff member's part to reveal an intrastaff memorandum," Carter said. "I've never seen it myself."

"I happen to think a lot of George Bush. I would not include George Bush among those who were appointed without qualifications."

Carter said Bush has kept his commitments to congressional committees about instituting the reforms in the CIA.

"From the evidence I have, he has done a good job in correcting these defects," Carter said.

But Carter joined his running mate, Sen. Walter F. Mondale, in charging that Kelley was not in control of the FBI.

Carter Repudiates Staff's Charge That Bush Got CIA Post in Political Payoff

BY KENNETH REICH
Times Political Writer

PLAINS, Ga.—Jimmy Carter said Friday that a member of his staff had made "a serious mistake" in releasing a memorandum naming Central Intelligence Agency Director George Bush as among those appointed in political payoffs by the Ford Administration.

Carter said he had never seen the memorandum before its release and that in Bush's case he did not agree with it. "As a matter of fact, I happen to think a lot of George Bush," he said.

The Democratic presidential candidate's statement about what has come to be an embarrassing episode for him was made on a day that California Gov. Brown left here with warm statements of support for Carter and the right to approve or disapprove of Carter's choice for California campaign coordinator this fall.

Also on Friday, Carter supported the views of his vice presidential running mate, Sen. Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota, about FBI Director Lawrence M. Kelley. Carter said that

he, too, thought Kelley "has not gotten adequate control over his organization." Under the circumstances, he said, this is "almost unforgivable."

The incident involving Bush and what Carter described Friday as "an intrastaff memorandum" occurred Wednesday in Atlanta just before Carter addressed the annual convention of the American Bar Assn.

A Los Angeles Times reporter was standing at the back of the press section before the speech talking to Carter's press secretary, Jody Powell, when another Carter staff member approached with what appeared to be a large number of mimeographed statements.

Powell glanced at them and said to the reporter, "Oh, this is an addendum to the speech." The reporter accordingly took one of the two-page papers, which was entitled, "Support for certain statements in ABA speech."

It was only many hours later that the reporter learned that the "addendum" had not been distributed to other reporters—and that Powell had learned it was not meant to be.

The memorandum, among other things, listed 19 names to back up a statement by Carter in the course of his ABA address, that "regulatory agencies and other important government positions are still used as dumping grounds for unsuccessful candidates, faithful political partisans, out-of-favor White House aides and representatives of special interests."

Under the first category—"Dumping ground for unsuccessful candidates"—were listed Peter H. Dominick, defeated for reelection to the U.S. Senate from Colorado and appointed by President Ford as ambassador to Switzerland; Thomas S. Kleppe, defeated for election to the Senate from North Dakota and appointed by Ford as secretary of the interior; Richard L. Roudebush, defeated for election to the Senate from Indiana and appointed by Ford to the Veterans Administration; Bush, defeated for election to the Senate from Texas and appointed by President Richard M. Nixon as ambassador to the United Nations and ambassador

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Ford orders intelligence briefing for Carter next week from CIA

Associated Press

WASHINGTON -- President Ford instructed CIA Director George Bush yesterday to give Democratic presidential nominee Jimmy Carter an intelligence and foreign policy briefing next week.

Ron Nessen, Ford's press secretary, said Bush would go to Carter's home town of Plains, Ga., next Wednesday for the briefing. Nessen said

Bush also would provide the same information to the Democratic vice presidential nominee, Sen. Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota. "If he wants it."

Such briefings for presidential candidates have become normal, but they are usually provided through the secretary of state. Carter, however, said he would prefer his briefing through the CIA rather than through

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, whose policies he has criticized.

When asked whether there were any matters too sensitive to be discussed, Nessen did not answer directly but said the President wanted Carter to get "a factual intelligence briefing."

Nessen said he did not know whether any ground rules had been established on how Carter might be permitted to use the information.

He said also there probably would be periodic briefings to bring Carter up to date.

Carter will fly to New York today for a series of private meetings with publishers, businessmen and labor leaders, his New York state campaign office announced yesterday.

He is to meet with the editorial board of the Hearst publications. A series of private meetings with business leaders will follow at noon. J. Paul Austin, board chairman of the Coca-Cola Co., will be the host.

Carter will meet later with several labor leaders, including Sol C. Chaikin, president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, and Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers. The candidate will conclude the trip with a private meeting with the editorial board of Time magazine.

Mondale returned yesterday to his Senate duties after a vacation in Minnesota, and joined a majority in voting to override Ford's veto of a public jobs bill.

Carter to get briefing from CIA director

Washington Bureau of The Sun

Washington—Jimmy Carter's intelligence briefing next week—his first—will be given by George Bush, director of central intelligence, the White House announced yesterday.

Ronald H. Nessen, presidential news secretary, said Mr. Bush, at President Ford's orders, would go to Plains, Ga., Mr. Carter's home town, to give what was described as a "basic intelligence backgrounder." The same information would be provided to Senator Walter F. Mondale (D., Minn.), Mr. Carter's running mate, the press secretary said.

Mr. Ford, Mr. Nessen said, was thus fulfilling what has become a tradition of providing intelligence briefings for presidential candidates. The late President Lyndon B. Johnson personally briefed Richard M. Nixon in 1963, but Senator George McGovern (D., S.D.), the Democratic candidate, in 1972, refused to accept such a briefing from Mr. Nixon four years ago.

Mr. Nessen refused to respond to questions as to whether Mr. Ford was bowing to Mr. Carter's reported unwillingness to be briefed by Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State, by assigning Mr. Bush to the task.

The President also met with Gov. James B. Longley of Maine yesterday.

Mr. Longley, an independent, told President Ford that

he feels the Republican party would be committing political suicide if it nominated Ronald Reagan for President.

Mr. Longley told reporters after a 30-minute meeting with Mr. Ford that he believes the GOP would destroy itself if it nominated Mr. Reagan and that a third party would result.

The governor said he met with Mr. Ford primarily to discuss problems of his state, including a high unemployment rate, possible cutbacks at Loring Air Force Base and the fight for the awarding of a Defense Department tank-machinegun contract to the Maremont Corporation, a Maine firm.